The German Tribune

Hamburg, 24 August 1980
Nineteenth Year - No. 954 - By air

A WEEKLY REVIEW OF THE GERMAN PRESS

C 20725 C
ISSN 0016-8858

Bonn helps Warsaw with export credit

Polish party chief Edward Gierek has called off his visit to Hamburg where he was to have met the Chancellor, Helmut Schmidt. The Polish Ambassador to Bonn, Jan Chylinski, said the change in plans was because of internal problems in Poland. He said that another date, at the beginning of December, had been proposed for a meeting between the two leaders. Bonn government spokesman Armin Grünewald said another date, before the election in October, was possible. He said that the strikes in Poland would not influence the decision by a consortium of German bankers to issue credits of DM1.2bn . Bonn will supply a third of the cash as an export guarantee.

Poland, in the words of a patriotic march dating back nearly 200 years to the days of partition, is not lost yet.

This is a sentiment echoed by contemporary Polish economists even though their country is in the throes of an economic crisis.

Optimism was shared by experts at the Bonn Economic Affairs Ministry a few days before Polish Party leader Edward Gierek was due to visit.

Their assessment of economic ties between Poland and the Federal Republic of Germany was: "Not at all bad, as a starting point."

Similar views were voiced by the Confederation of German Industry (BDI) in Cologne, where a spokesman said:

"The Poles deserve respect, not to say admiration, for the way they are coping with their economic difficulties."

Was this just fair-weather politics — encouraging noises prior to the Hamburg talks between Mr Gierek and Chancellor Schmidt?

There were signs this was all such fine words might amount to. Companies that actually traded with Poland were tight-lipped on how they rated trade ties past and future.

It was either the holiday season or the board member responsible was away on business or the company spokesman chose to make do with a few non-committal words.

Businessmen were only prepared to divulge their true feelings provided they were assured of absolute discretion: no names (especially company names), no pack drill!

Given what they had to say, this desire for discretion was hardly surprising: "Problems? The Poles have them by the bucket!" "Poland is the toughest of all East bloc countries", "Products are poor and no returns are accepted" and "Failure all along the line."

"The Poles are up to their necks in it," a banker said, feeling it was hardly necessary to go into depressing detail and give chapter and verse.

Even bearing in mind that West German businessmen are invariably given to lamenting, economic ties with Poland looked far from promising.

The message had been spelt out with customary diplomacy six months previously by Otto Wolff von Amerongen, head of the Standing Conference of Chambers of Commerce and Industry and chairman of the Committee on Trade with the East Bloc.

The Cologne industrialist said Poland was going through a spell of poor form and advised economic policymakers on both sides to think in terms of a middle-distance runner rather than a sprinter.

A sprint specialist, he explained, was soon at the end of his tether, and this was something neither side could be interested in.

Yet oddly enough the starting point for further development of trade ties really is none too bad. Poland has tapped a source of hard currency earnings that long lay fallow for lack of cash towards capital outlay.

Warsaw has finally started mining commodities such as copper, coal and vanadium, which is one of the four most sensitive raw materials.

Metallgesellschaft, Frankfurt, have signed two contracts with Poland for the supply of copper, each for 40,000 tonnes a year.

The first was concluded with the aid of an export credit guarantee by the Bonn government, the second was underwritten by banks without Bonn credit backing.

The copper deliveries have been paid for in advance, allegedly to enable the Poles to boost mining capacity, but this is both unusual and controversial.

There have been rumours that Poland has spent the copper money to make ends meet in other departments, but be that as it may, Poland has gained access to foreign exchange.

The vanadium project, worth an estimated DM750m, has also been backed by Bonn. It is due to run on a longer-term basis. Deposits have yet to be mined. Deliveries are not expected to start for another 10 years at least.

Polish coal is similarly intended to earn hard currency. Now coal has regained prestige as an energy source, import restrictions in West Germany have been eased.

Poland, the world's fourth-largest coal producer and second-largest exporter, is to supply the Federal Republic with 2.5m tonnes a year.

A further contract due to be signed shortly would mean a further one million tonnes a year from 1985.

The other 100 joint ventures are nothing spectacular. Britain, France and Italy have all pulled off major vehicle plant deals with Poland; not so West Germany, which has emerged empty-handed in this department.

This was partly because trade ties were not expanded until late in the day, after the Bonn-Warsaw treaties were signed.

It was also because Bonn, unlike Britain, France or Italy, has steadfastly refused to subsidise interest on loans out of the taxpayer's pocket.

The only large-scale project envisaged, a coal gasification plant that was to have cost DM2.6bn, has been shelved.

Technological developments in this sector were proving so rapid the Poles preferred not to go firm on any one technique at too early a stage.

Still, a DM250m pilot plant is to be built in collaboration with Krupp's, so there is a prospect of coming back to the larger-scale project at some future date.

A proposed joint venture to mine silver deposits likewise came to grief even though West German companies and banks were in its favour.

But Bonn refused to underwrite the deal, much to the relief of all concerned in retrospect. The high price of silver was what made the project so attractive, and much of its attraction has faded now the price has plummeted.

Businessmen complain most frequently however, about day-to-day trading. Poland would appear still to have difficulty in supplying enough manufactured goods for export.

There is said to be no continuity, while further shortcomings attributed to the country's economic system include failure to meet deadlines and poor product quality.

Polish import-export permit procedures often take so long that products a German importer was keen to buy are no longer marketable once the go-ahead is given.

Poland has even been unable to deliver such predictable and well-established seasonal produce as Christmas geese and ducks. Last Christmas a leading German department store was left in the lurch.

Not for a moment do the Poles deny that such mishaps occur. Some time ago Janusz Kaszurba of the Polish Foreign Trade Institute called on exporters to pull their socks up.

Exporters would be blacked, he said, who supplied poor quality goods or failed to meet delivery deadlines.

But Poland's foremost problem is indebtedness, which could well affect trade ties with West Germany. The heavier the debts, the less foreign exchange is available for imports.

What is more, after five poor harvests in succession Poland is once again having to spend its hard-earned foreign exchange on grain and oil shipments.

Poland is heavily in debt. Its current indebtedness to the West totals roughly $20bn, about a fifth of which, or DM9bn, is owed to West Germany.

The Soviet Union is in a much better position as a debtor. It has $13bn in debts but credits worth $9bn. Poland's credits in the West total a mere $1.2bn.

So far the Poles have always been able to meet interest and capital deadlines, but the weight of debts is extremely heavy, so much so that it makes Western creditors feel uneasy.

This year alone Poland is due to repay $6bn in capital and interest on loans

Continued on page 3



This way, gentlemen . . .

Four Republican Party members of the US Senate visited Bonn this month. They discussed foreign policy and security issues with Chancellor Helmut Schmidt. From left, pictured with Herr Schmidt, are Thad Cochran, William S. Cohen, Howard Baker and Henry L. Bellmon. (Photo: dpa)

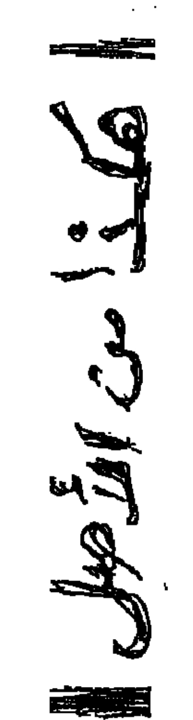
IN THIS ISSUE

THE GENERAL ELECTION — Page 3
Vote-splitting becomes an issue between coalition parties

INTRA-GERMAN AFFAIRS — Page 4
The Wall is still a symbol of GDR instability

ENGINEERING — Page 9
Doubts remain over method of bridge-building

SCIENCE — Page 12
'Biological computer' of the housefly a key to questions about man



Five years after the summit meeting in Helsinki which ended the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE), the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan shook the foundations of detente.

Although the final act of Helsinki applies only to Europe, the Soviet Union by invading Afghanistan has violated most of its universally valid principles. Yet again it has become clear that East and West mean different things with the same words and in important spheres have diametrically opposed aims.

A further source of irritation: the conflict on aims, hitherto buried under various compromise formulations, is being brought to life again in the run-up to the second *CSCE follow-up conference* due to be held in Madrid this autumn.

This means that the preparations for the second Helsinki control conference are becoming a permanent series of confrontations.

Five years after Helsinki, detente has reached its limits. In this time American power has visibly dwindled, while the Soviet Union has strengthened its position to an unparalleled extent. It has doubled its arms expenditure and extended its influence from Angola to Afghanistan.

Brezhnev's statement on the fifth anniversary of the signing of the Helsinki agreement that the agreement made developments "irreversible" underlines that the Soviet Union regards Helsinki primarily as the sanctioning of its political and territorial possessions.

In view of the Soviet Union's power potential, attempts to make international law distinctions between the inviolability and the "alterability" of frontiers and thus to keep future developments open run the risk of degenerating into semantic glass bead games.

Even the cosmetic attempts to increase military security by confidence-building measures such as advance notice and observation of manoeuvres have been dealt with so selectively by the Soviet Union that they have not even improved the atmosphere.

The Soviet Union is even more restrictive about human rights, freedom of movement and freedom of opinion.

Muted though the hopes of the democracies were in the summer of 1975, the exile of Nobel Peace Prize winner Andrei Sacharov, the exile of other regime critics before the Olympic Games and the quashing of the Helsinki groups who insisted on the realisation of the rights laid down in the Helsinki agreement would not have been considered possible by Western negotiators at the time.

The same applies to the barriers erected against the free flow of information and opinions, which could have brought a breath of fresh air into the oppressive atmosphere of closed communist societies.

Of course there have also been positive results. The East Bloc's need for Western goods and the West's need of energy ensures that economic relations between the two blocs flourish.

But this would probably have been so even without Helsinki. The CSCE has given the smaller East Bloc states slightly more scope — as cautious criticism of the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan in some East Bloc countries shows.

Finally, since Helsinki emigration and travel possibilities have improved and regulations on the reuniting of families and East-West marriages have been relaxed.

However, the reluctance of the East Bloc on these issues underlines that the democracies in Helsinki by accepting the political and territorial status quo have received something that can be abjured at any time in exchange for permanent recognition.

■ THE BALANCE OF POWER

Risk of detente aims drowning in words

Such a concession can only be justified if the greater liberality and humanity given in return are such as to keep alive the hope of long-term change.

The Madrid CSCE Conference, due to begin on 11 November, will assess progress made so far. The first follow-up conference in Belgrade from autumn 1977 to spring 1978 failed because of the unbridgeable gap between the West's and the East's values.

President Carter's human rights campaign caused the representatives of the Communist states to block any further developments and even to prevent the words "human rights" being mentioned in the final declaration in Belgrade.

From September 9 onwards diplomats from 33 European countries, the USA and Canada will be preparing the ground for the conference proper. Already the same fundamental conflict on aims is evident. On the fifth anniversary of the Helsinki agreement Brezhnev said that the Madrid follow-up conference would address itself mainly to disarmament.

President Carter, on the other hand, has stressed that although he wants to see military matters discussed he does not want them to overshadow human rights questions.

Behind these stances is a fundamental opposition and a challenge to the West Europeans, whom Brezhnev wants to win over. Brezhnev is trying to introduce a number of disarmament proposals in Madrid — to prevent a possible condemnation of the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan and a discussion of human rights.

Carter, in accordance with the best American traditions, is sticking to his guns, urged on by the six senators and six congressmen on the CSCE committee and the 1,000-plus Helsinki committees throughout the USA. All of these are determined that the letter and the spirit of the Helsinki agreement should be kept.

To prevent the Madrid followup conference degenerating into a display of antagonism between East and West, both sides will probably be prepared to give equal attention to all aspects of the final act and to introduce new elements. Bonn Minister of Foreign Affairs Genscher has several times spoken in favour of such an approach.

Genscher also wants at least part of the Madrid conference to be at Foreign Minister level (at Belgrade it was at ambassadorial level).

Among the new elements that could go on the agenda in Madrid are an extension of the confidence-building measures and discussion of a European disarmament conference.

By suggesting an extension of confidence-building measures, the Western states are taking up again their Belgrade proposals for: publication of military expenditure, advance warning of manoeuvres involving fewer than 25,000 troops, advance warning for other major troop movements, and rules for mutual manoeuvre observation guaranteeing effectiveness.

These proposals also form a b[illegible] with the West's proposals for accompanying measures at the MBFR talks in Vienna.

Poland and France have both [illegible] proposals for a European disarmament conference — but the aims behind [illegible] proposals are clearly different.

The French proposal, backed by [illegible], wants arms control limited to conventional weapons but is not prepared to discuss nuclear weapons. The Soviet Union, via the Polish proposal, [illegible] nuclear arms on the agenda also.

Whereas France wants all of Europe from the Atlantic to the Urals included in the System of control, the Soviet Union wants these controls limited to the 250 kilometre strip of land along borders — the area for advance warning of manoeuvres and manoeuvre observation laid down at Helsinki.

Finally, there are big differences of opinion between East and West on the form which such a disarmament conference should take. The West wants a conference integrated into the CSCE and its procedures to ensure equality for all countries involved and the participation of the United States and Canada. The East Bloc want the conference to be completely separate from the CSCE to influence public opinion in the democracies.

Five years after Helsinki and following the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, the Madrid conference will be tough.

It will be vital not to get bogged down in mutual recriminations, to prevent the Soviet idea of detente as [illegible] ible from gaining ground and to [illegible] the Soviet Union using *disarmament* proposals as a means of driving a wedge between West Europe and the United States.

Franz-Josef [illegible]

(Rheinischer Merkur/Christ und Welt, 15 August 1980)

Brezhnev offer reassurance or a threat?

Bonn rated the 10-year-old nuclear non-proliferation treaty the key to effective non-proliferation, Klaus von Dohnanyi, Minister of State at the Bonn Foreign Office, told the Geneva review conference this month. It would continue to endorse the treaty while fully acknowledging the rights of all to develop atoms for peace. He was gratified that all signatories had fulfilled their treaty obligations inasmuch as nuclear devices had neither been made available to others nor purchased nor manufactured by non-nuclear signatories. But the danger of further proliferation remained as long as there were still countries that were not parties to the treaty.

Mr Brezhnev's special offer to mark the tenth anniversary of the nuclear non-proliferation treaty was by no means tied to serve the cause of non-proliferation.

He repeated his undertaking that the Soviet Union would never use nuclear weapons against nuclear have-nots.

Some countries are more likely to take this as a threat than as a reassurance, as a superpower's blackmail bid. They can hardly be blamed in the circumstances.

The superpowers have taken care not to allow others to join their ranks but they have not refrained from discrimination as the treaty enjoined them to do.

Still less have they made good their undertaking to reduce their alarming stockpiles of weapons of nuclear destruction.

Nuclear arms could be used to exert political pressure and, given the inclination of the superpowers to intervene in local conflicts, strengthen smaller countries in their resolve to develop an independent nuclear deterrent of their own.

The second review conference in Geneva was held in conditions that had deteriorated substantially in comparison with the first conference, held five years ago, even though Articles 1 and 2, dealing with proliferation, acquisition and production of nuclear weapons, have been observed.

The number of threshold countries has risen alarmingly, according to the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute. By the end of the century it expects the number of nuclear powers to have increased from the present five (America, Russia, Britain, France and China) to 40.

Nine are already considered potential owners of nuclear weapons, while 10 run nuclear installations that are not subject to international supervision.

They include Egypt and Israel, India and Pakistan — all countries with conflicts that are as yet unresolved. None of them are parties to the non-proliferation treaty.

A country said to be keen on developing nuclear knowhow is Iraq, which enjoys close nuclear ties with France. Ironically, an Iraqi diplomat chaired the Geneva conference.

Conflict is anathema to non-proliferation, as Afghanistan has shown. President Carter was suddenly prepared to supply India with fissile material without extra strings.

Before the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, Mr Carter, a staunch advocate of non-proliferation, had stalled on deliveries of enriched uranium to India.

Parties to the treaty faced another problem arguably more irksome than the easier access to fissile material non-signatories seem to have.

Article 4, dealing with atoms for peace and the provision of peaceful knowhow without discrimination, has proved a mixed blessing.

The non-proliferation treaty and its enforcement agency, the International Atomic Energy Agency in Vienna, have hampered atoms for peace in the Third World to the advantage of countries that enjoy a nuclear monopoly.

Dieter Sch[illegible]

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 13 August 1980)

The German Tribune

Publisher: Friedrich Reinecke. Editor-in-Chief: Otto Heinz. Editor: Alexander Anthony. English language sub-editor: Simon Burnett. — Distribution Manager: Georgine Picone.

Friedrich Reinecke Verlag GmbH, 23 Schoene Aussicht, Hamburg 76, Tel.: 22 85 1, Telex: 02 14733.

Advertising rates list No. 13
Annual subscription DM 35.

Printed by Druck- und Verlagshaus Friedrich Pörtner, Bremen-Blumenthal. Distributed in the USA by: MASS MAILINGS, Inc. 540 West 24th Street, New York, N.Y. 10011.

All articles which THE GERMAN TRIBUNE reprints are published in cooperation with the editorial staffs of leading newspapers of the Federal Republic of Germany. They are complete translations of the original text, in no way abridged nor editorially redrafted. THE GERMAN TRIBUNE also publishes quarterly supplements featuring articles selected from German periodicals.

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■ THE GENERAL ELECTION

Vote-splitting becomes an issue between coalition parties

The Bonn coalition parties have clashed over use of the second vote in October's election. The vote is important in an election system, which is run along both preferential and proportional lines. SPD National Secretary Egon Bahr has said that the second vote on 5 October will be the politically more important one "and therefore the decisive vote for Chancellor Helmut Schmidt." Volker Hummel, deputy spokesman of the FDP replied: "This is absurd and nasty."

He said that the Social Democrats should not pretend that a second vote for the FDP was not also a vote for Helmut Schmidt, as the FDP has already committed itself to a coalition with the SPD.

The whole wrangle is being cannily conducted, especially by the FDP.

The party's leader Hans-Dietrich Genscher, said on TV that the very survival of the FDP depended on this issue. He said that his party depended on every single second vote. And Hummel has told the SPD that it must surely be in its interest to get every first vote going.

Both have overlooked — or have they? — the fact that the second votes decide the final composition of the Bundestag.

At first glance it seems as if the number of voters involved are relatively few. In past elections, more than 90 per cent of voters have given their first and their second votes to the same parties.

In 1961, for instance, only 4.3 per cent of voters gave their first and second votes to different parties.

Vote splitting became more fashionable in 1969 with 7.8 per cent and reached an all-time high in the 1972 election. In the last election in 1976 the percentage then dropped to 6.6 per cent. The reason for this was that in 1972 the SPD actively supported the splitting tactic, where as in 1976 it merely tolerated it.

From this viewpoint, vote-splitting is more of a social-liberal phenomenon. However as one per cent of voters equal 400,000 votes and at the last election another 300,000 votes would have given Helmut Kohl victory, the CDU / CSU in this election will also be encouraging voters to give both their votes to the CDU / CDU.

Kurt Biedenkopf started this campaign recently when he said: "The CDU needs every second vote." For him, splitting is a form of cheating.

And Peter Radunsky, CDU chief of publicity, says that vote-splitting is a form of behaviour bordering on mental disorder. He asks: "How can a voter give his vote to the Opposition CDU and his second to the government FDP?"

Genscher has an immediate answer to this question. He says regular CDU voters should split their votes to express their displeasure at the choice of Franz Josef Strauss as Shadow Chancellor.

The prospect does not seem to bother Radunsky. The potential number of voters here is very low. He fears people who do not vote because of Strauss more than splitters.

The Allenbsbach Opinion Research Institute says that 22 per cent of CDU voters do not want to be disloyal to the party on the one hand and the on the other they do not want to vote for Strauss.

And psephologist Wildemann found in his poll that 70 per cent of all voters want Helmut Schmidt as Chancellor — and that many CDU / CSU voters simply regard Strauss as a second choice.

CDU electoral strategists fear that many CDU / CSU supporters will register their dislike of the choice of Strauss by not voting

And pollster Nelle-Neumann of the Allensbach Institute also sees grave dangers for the CDU / CSU: "When a Chancellor is as popular as Helmut Schmidt, vote-splitting can spell danger for the Opposition."

Vote-splitting has a considerable tradition among FDP voters — a fact which SPD election planner Karl-Heinz Bentele attributes to the higher educational levels of liberal voters.

In 1972, for instance, 52.9 per cent of those who gave their second votes to the FDP gave their first to the SPD and only 38.2 per cent gave their first to the FDP.

This trend continued in 1976, with 29.9 per cent of FDP voters giving their first vote to the SPD.

All parties face the problem that only one in seven voters knows that it is the second and not the first vote that is politically decisive. The FDP takes full advantage of this linguistic misunderstanding by presenting itself as a small party and asking voters at least to give it their second votes.

Pollster Noelle-Neumann disapproves of the confusion about the role of the second vote. She says it is a cardinal failure of the electoral system that no normal person can understand it.

According to polls, 25 per cent of voters are toying with the idea of giving their second vote to the FDP, which is allegedly fighting for its life, would be in a better position than at any other time in post-war German history.

And a further bizarre twist: if half of all CDU voters and half of all SPD voters gave their second vote to the liberals, the FDP would be the strongest party in the Bundestag and Hans-Dietrich Genscher could become Chancellor.

Hans Peter Schütz

(Stuttgarter Nachrichten, 12 August 1980)

How the poll operates

All the parties taking part in the general election are particularly anxious to win second votes. The big parties hope thus to win a majority, the smaller ones to survive.

According to the National Electoral Law, the Bundestag consists of 518 MPs; 248, or half of the MPs elected in West Germany (excluding West Berlin) are elected directly in their constituencies by first votes.

The other half get to Bonn via the *Land* lists of their parties. The remaining 22 Berlin MPs are nominated by the Berlin Parliament.

Voters in West Berlin have no second vote.

With first votes, the candidate in a given constituency who has won the most votes is elected directly to the Bundestag. If a constituency candidate gets fewer votes than his rival, the votes for this candidate are lost and do not benefit his party.

The purpose of the first vote is to ensure that individuals are returned to Bonn because of their personal capacities rather than party affiliation.

But it is the second votes which determine the parties' percentage share of votes. Second votes have no effect on the constituency result but are counted up for the whole *Land*.

A party's share of second votes determines the number of MPs it sends to Bonn from a given *Land*.

Second-vote candidates are then nominated in the order of the *Land* lists if they have not already been elected directly.

Second votes also decide the five per cent question. According to electoral law, only parties who have received at least five per cent of all second votes are eligible to sit in the Bundestag.

As the FDP for example has not won any direct mandates for years but has relied entirely on second votes, a drop below five per cent of its second votes would mean the end for it.

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 12 August 1980)

Schmidt rules out reshuffle

There will be no reshuffling of major cabinet posts if the coalition wins the election, the Chancellor, Herr Schmidt, has said.

Schmidt said he saw no reason whatever to change the "cornerstones" of his cabinet. By this he was referring to Minister of Foreign Affairs Genscher (FDP), Finance Minister Matthöfer (SPD), Minister of Economic Affairs Lambsdorff (FDP), Justice Minister Vogel (SPD) and Defence Minister Apel (SPD).

"Who have I forgotten?" Schmidt added.

Asked whether the Ministry of Post and Transport were to be split into two separate ministries, Schmidt said he did not consider this a question of principle.

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(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 13 August 1980)

Continued from page 1

made in the early 70s. Next year a further $3bn will fall due.

Just before Mr Gierek's scheduled visit to Hamburg, 25 banks interested in trade with Poland reached agreement with the Polish Bank Handlowy on terms for a loan of DM1.2bn.

The Bonn government will be supplying a third of the total as an export credit guarantee earmarked for Polish coalfield development on the understanding that the coal mined is exported to Germany.

Bank loans will total DM800m, including DM400m raised by the Big Three, Deutsche Bank, Dresdner Bank and Commerzbank (and the trade union-owned Bank für Gemeinwirtschaft) and the remainder by other members of the consortium.

Each bank's stake is in accordance with its respective interest in trade with Poland. The total takes into account Poland's balance of payments and the foreign exchange needed to pay for German exports to Poland.

Wolfgang Hoffmann

(Die Zeit, 15 August 1980)

Strauss spells it out for trade unions

Peace without freedom is the "quiet of the graveyard" according to Shadow Chancellor Franz Josef Strauss.

And freedom without peace is "an anxious state of waiting" says Strauss in answer to the German Trade Union Federation (DGB) catalogue of demands for the Bundestag elections.

The Shadow Chancellor's reply to the DGB's "electoral touchstones" fills 31 pages.

Strauss says that German *Ostpolitik* should not be allowed to become Soviet westpolitik.

He said that this was not the aim of the Schmidt and Brandt governments but that nonetheless these had contributed towards Europe "gradually being faced with the terrifying alternatives between war and peace."

Strauss reaffirmed that the treaties with East Germany were binding "within the limits drawn by the Federal Constitutional Court."

But he added: "We will never accept that these treaties divide Germany into two nations, a "capitalist" in the West and a "socialist" in the East.

On the touchstone of social security Strauss objects to the CDU/CSU and its leading politicians being stamped as unsocial and hostile to wage-earners. He said this was party political and personal defamation.

Strauss said that the DGB's demand for more flexible retirement ages was desirable from the social policy viewpoint but hardly practicable in the foreseeable future given the situation of the pension insurances.

He said the CDU/CSU would reintroduce gross-wage-related indexed pensions and improve the pension entitlement of mothers by including the time spent bringing up children as part of their entitlement.

The CDU/CSU would: ensure that men and women were equally treated in pension law. It also intended to improve the situation of non-working mothers over their entitlement to maternity payments, to introduce payments for bringing up children and to introduce a comprehensive programme of protection of the unborn child.

It aims to make possible full employment by pursuing full-blooded market economy policies.

He says he is counting on the "co-responsibility" and cooperation of the DGB. This would be all the more important in view of the findings of a study commissioned by the Bonn government predicting that by 1985 there would be 1.85 m unemployed in this country.

Strauss wrote: "I have been warning for years about the dangers to our economy from our East Asian competitors. Unfortunately, I got very little support from the DGB."

dpa

(Bremer Nachrichten, 14 August 1980)

■ INTRA-GERMAN AFFAIRS

The Wall still a symbol of GDR instability

Nineteen years ago, on 13 August 1961, East Germany saved itself by erecting the Berlin Wall. Communist Germany, which must take advantage of every point it can score because it cannot afford to give away even half a point (as borne out by the ado over the place where Chancellor Schmidt and East German leader Erich Honecker meet) acted in the nick of time when it built the Wall.

The people of the GDR were leaving the country by the thousands, voting with their feet.

East Germany could not have sustained this drain for another couple of weeks. As a result, the Warsaw Pact decided to erect *this century's most shameful structure and to risk world peace* if necessary.

The reaction by the then mayor of West Berlin, Willy Brandt, who said "the Wall must be done away with" was normal and a clear moral stand. But it was illusory.

The Wall, a product of *angst*, is here to stay because East Germany's *angst* is as strong today as it was then.

But even sealed off as the GDR has been for the past 19 years, the Communist rulers of East Germany have been unable to consolidate their rule — both politically and economically.

The West has been aware of this and has taken it into account in its policy — more so than has been good for it. By understanding the needs of the GDR dictatorship it also had to go along with its immoral political repression, thus damaging its own moral position.

Bonn has forgone demanding that basic moral values be upheld in the GDR only for the sake of obtaining a few concessions on the humanity front. It has had to pay for this with political and material assistance for the dictatorship in the other Germany.

The whole thing is a complicated web of double standards. But then, Bonn is not the first democratic government that has had its problems on this score. A similar situation existed during the Nazi era.

The mistake of our present *Deutschlandpolitik* is that this moral conflict is swept under the carpet and that Bonn even goes so far as to talk of "normalisation".

There can be no normal neighbourly relations between a free country and a dictatorship — and this is particularly so in a divided nation.

As a result, no normal relations have developed in the past decade. Instead, relations have been marked by a constant wheeling and dealing with the Wall.

Whenever the GDR needs economic aid it uses slight improvements for the people as a bargaining point, making sure, however, that the repression within its borders, which is vital for the regime, remains intact.

This will also apply to the forthcoming talks between Schmidt and Honecker.

The GDR's internal instability, which led to the construction of the Wall 19 years ago, has worsened.

Above all, the Communist rul[...] been unable to catch up econ[...] with the West — they have, in [...] en further and further behind.

To understand that the GDR [...] exist without the Wall does no[...] accepting this structure, for that [...] spell the end of all political moral[...]

As a result, we cannot stop [...] the GDR time and again that [...] struction to the border guards to [...] to kill, its mines and booby traps [...] draconian reprisals against people [...] apply for exit visas can only be [...] an imposition on their democrat[...] gotiating partner.

To pillory the GDR's politic[...] human immorality is a must for the [...] Germany if it is not itself to [...] moral damage.

Those who say that we must [...] too heavy a burden on the GDR [...] be told: how much should that [...] be permitted to impose on the Fe[...] Republic of Germany, and get away [...] it?

Renate Marb[...]

(Kieler Nachrichten, 13 Augu[...])

Affluence gap continues to increase

Since the Berlin Wall was built 19 years ago, East Germany's communist leadership has been making its border with the Federal Republic of Germany "safer and safer."

Without the Wall, the exodus from the GDR would be even bigger today than it was before its construction, and the country would again be faced with a crisis of existence.

One of the elements responsible for the continued political instability of the GDR and hence for the continued existence of the Wall is the constantly growing affluence gap between the two Germanies.

Before the war, the productivity gradient was from the highly industrialised central Germany (today's GDR) down to the Rhine and the Alps.

The region marked by Magdeburg, Berlin, Dresden, Plauen and Eisenach was the centre of German mechanical engineering and the automobile and aircraft industries.

It also housed 40 per cent of Germany's chemicals industry. In 1938, it accounted for 65 per cent of all German exports.

This year, the GDR will export goods worth 57 billion East German marks. i.e. DM34bn.

The Federal Republic of Germany's exports this year will amount to about DM350bn.

As a result. East Germany now accounts for only 9 per cent of overall German exports.

More than anything else, this proves the economic decline of that highly developed part of Germany — and the people there know and feel it.

But they are as unfamiliar with the reasons for the decline of their centrally controlled economy as the people in the West are with the true factors that make up the superiority of a market economy.

Visitors to the Leipzig Fair are told by the locals that their standard of living is so low because East Germany exports too much. But this is not the crux of the matter, for both German stastes export about 23 per cent of GNP.

But since the convertible East German mark is worth only 60 pfennigs on international markets, the GDR exports goods worth DM2,000 per capita of population while the Federal Republic of Germany exports DM5,700 per capita.

And yet the shops in West Germany are full of goods.

It follows that the GDR does not export too much but produces too little.

Despite inflation, unemployment and diminishing growth in West Germany, the GDR constantly lags further and further behind.

The average monthly net income of salaried people in the Federal Republic of Germany is just under DM1,800, compared with 780 East marks in the GDR. The buying power, however, where private consumption is concerned is roughly one to one for the two currencies.

Even in the social security sector the GDR spends only one-third of the amount spent in West Germany, and annual savings in the West are five times those in the East.

The average assets of our working population are seven times higher than in East Germany.

The GDR of today is a classical low-wage country. A saleswoman nets 500 East marks, a skilled worker 800, a medium echelon manager between 1,200 and 1,500 and top managerial staff heading a company with a payroll of 10,000 to 30,000 make 2,500 East marks a month.

This alone shows why the communist leadership had to close its borders. Disregarding political convictions, people would leave East Germany en masse simply to triple their earnings.

West Germany will achieve a GNP of about DM1,500bn in 1980, compared with the GDR's 300bn marks.

We produce DM32.6 per worker per working hour compared with the GDR's 16 marks. In other words, East German productivity is only half that of West Germany.

The Wall has thus failed to achieve its objective, i.e. to consolidate the country economically and close the gap with the Federal Republic of Germany.

But it has been illusory from the very beginning to hope that the Wall was a temporary structure.

Granted, the GDR was at a disadvantage after the war. It received no Marshall Plan aid, had to pay more in reparations and lost four million people to the West between 1949 and 1961.

But even after the Wall was built, East Germany continued to fall behind — and that is the crux of the matter.

(Der Tagesspiegel, 10 August 1980)

Lingering hop[e] for unity

Whether or not there is a "Ge[...] answer" to the "German ques[...] depends on people and government.

It is, however, certain that there i[...] interplay between the governed a[...] governing concerning reunificatio[...] freedom.

Willy Brandt has said that he n[...] ger intends to talk of "reunific[...] and Helmut Schmidt has said th[...] does not expect German unity i[...] dom this century.

So far as the public is concerned [...] those over 60 remember a democra[...] and undivided Germany.

Taking all this into account, it is s[...] prising and encouraging that recent p[...] show that 67 per cent would opt for [...] unification if they had a say in it [...] that only 28 per cent are prepared [...] forgo this aim.

But since these 28 per cent thus [...] pose the Constitution and are prep[...] to write off their fellow countrymen [...] the other Germany, their number is [...] pressingly high.

The desire for a united Germany [...] fared better than the hope for it.

And since majorities can impose th[...] will on the government in a democr[...] two-thirds of the people have now p[...] the onus on Bonn actively to pursue [...] unification and not to forfeit it to [...] communist wish for a divided Germ[...] for opportunistic reasons.

(Die Welt, 13 August 19[...])

Border trend to self-shooting devices

The GDR's border security system is switching more and more from minefields to special fences with automatic self-shooting devices, the Work Group 13 August told the press on the eve of the Berlin Wall's 19th anniversary. Since the construction of the Wall, East Germany has installed 42,000 of these devices along a stretch of some 410 kilometres. At the same time the minefields along the border were reduced from 593 to 280 kilometres.

The Work Group called these self-shooters the most flagrant violation of human rights in Europe because they use dum-dum ammunition.

Not only does the GDR thus violate international human rights agreements but also the 1907 The Hague Convention on war on Land which prohibits weapons that cause "unnecessary suffering and irreparable wounds."

The Work Group therefore intends to call on the Bonn government to raise the issue of these self-shooters at the forthcoming CSCE Follow-up Conference in Madrid.

Despite the murderous effects of these devices, the Wall claimed no lives in its 19th year, according to the Work Group.

A total of 176 people have died along the German-German border since 13 August 1961: 106 along the border with West Germany and 70 along the Berlin Wall.

The Work Group considers that it [...] due to the deterrent of the new weapo[...] system along the border that there hav[e] been no fatalities in the past 12 months.

The number of attempted escapes wa[...] lower than ever before during this per[i]od.

In 1977, there were still 721 escap[...] to West Berlin while in 1979 the num[...] ber dwindled to 463, and in the fi[...] half of this year there were only [...] The overall number of refugees dropp[ed] from 6,011 in 1975 to 3,512 in 1979.

Despite the fact that West Germa[ny] "buys" an annual 1,100 to 1,300 politi[cal] prisoners and despite the 1979 amnes[ty] in East Germany, some 5,000 politic[al] prisoners are languishing in GDR ja[...] 60 per cent of them for preparing, [...] tempting or abetting escapes.

Lieselotte Mülle[r]

(Frankfurter Neue Presse, 12 August 19[...])

■ ENGINEERING

Doubts remain over method of bridge-building

Imagine yourself caught in the thick of an autobahn holiday jam on one of those weekends when just about everyone seems to be heading back north with their suntanned wives and families.

You are lodged firmly between coaches, trucks and other holidaymakers in the middle of a bridge spanning some valley or other. That unspoilt countryside seems a long way away, down there.

Do you remember reports about rifts and fatigue in prestressed concrete bridges? If not, you will surely recall Berlin's *Kongresshalle*, the concrete roof of which caved in on 21 May.

Could it happen again? True, shell-shaped structures like the Pregnant Oyster, as Berliners were quick to dub the old Kongresshalle 25 years ago, cannot be compared with prestressed concrete road bridges.

The roof consisted of a shell a few centimetres thick enclosed in a reinforced ring. Bridges are massive structures the mainstays of which can be several metres tall.

Besides, a prestressed concrete bridge has yet to collapse in West Germany, although others have occasionally been known to cave in under exceptional strain.

Bridge designers do not usually work on the assumption that a heavy truck is going to score a direct hit on the central pylon.

Bridges in general and prestressed concrete bridges in particular are particularly safe in the event of known and foreseeable mishaps, they insist.

But you will probably not be entirely reassured. If bridges are so safe why is it there have been so many reports in recent years of alarming rifts and bridges no longer being made to last?

Why have bridges been closed to traffic for comprehensive repairs and maintenance? Why are the authorities busy beefing up regulations?

Why is the Bonn Transport Ministry currently circulating a discussion paper to all departments associated with bridge construction?

There are two main reasons why the endurance of prestressed concrete bridges has come in for review. In comparison with steel structures they are a relative new-comer, but for some time they have predominated.

By 1975 prestressed concrete accounted for 8 out of 10 bridges in the country. Prestressed concrete is the younger brother of reinforced concrete.

Plain concrete resists pressure but is poor on tensile strength and fairly brittle, so it is reinforced by steel rods at points where tensile strain is likely to arise.

The concrete protects the steel from corrosion, at least where the casing is sufficiently thick and aggressive substances such as winter road salt do not penetrate.

Bridge designers work on the assumption that rifts will develop in reinforced concrete, but they reckon they will be hairline rifts and evenly distributed.

In prestressed concrete steel rods are not set in the concrete; pipeline ducts are run through it and steel rods run through the ducts.

The rods are stressed once the form work has set and anchored against the concrete so as to press the concrete sections together.

These steel sinew make prestressed concrete much better on tensile strength and more likely than reinforced concrete to withstand heavy traffic and not develop rifts.

Prestressed concrete is more rigid and enables bridges to span greater distances at lower heights. Many economic techniques would be impossible were it not for prestressed concrete.

Besides, experts claim it costs less to maintain and service than other materials, which likewise cuts costs.

Yet after more than 20 years' experience in West Germany, including the usual teething troubles, queries remain. Are there shortcomings that are attributable to the system?

Have all foreseeable influences been taken into account? Have serious mistakes been made in construction? It is not just a matter of safety but of costs and repercussions for future bridge construction.

Rifts and rifts at section joints are issues that have gained notoriety. Section joints are the point at which one prestressed rod is linked to another.

Research and civil engineers agree that rifts are no problem as long as they are not wider than 0.2mm in prestressed concrete.

Wider rifts need repairing, especially at section joints where damp or even salt could seep through to the steel, causing corrosion.

Because of the variations in strain due to variations in traffic load and volume material fatigue would result, leading to one or more reinforcement rods snapping.

Bridgebuilders in West Germany have so far only come across a snapped rod once, and the discovery was made in time. Bonn Transport Minister Kurt Gscheidle promptly ordered priority examination of section joints in all bridges for which his department was responsible.

Engineers have checked more than 1,600 bridges, over 400 of which included section joints. Preliminary findings indicate that whereas only 13 per cent or so of bridges without section joints had rifts, about 70 per cent of bridges with section joints had them.

One in six had rifts wider than 0.2mm, yet experts still agree that bridges with section joints are a suitable system. They enable designers to come up with particularly economic solutions.

What is more, rifts such as have arisen so far can, they say, be prevented by imposing more stringent regulations and improving design details.

But rifts are not the only defects inspectors have come across. Road salt has been found to destroy surfaces and concrete casing of reinforcement steel has been found inadequate, just as ducts have been found faulty.

These shortcomings likewise lead to corrosion of steel set in the concrete, and inspectors and Herr Gscheidle have yet to comment in public on the extent of such damage and shortcomings.

Architects and civil servants agree, however, that serious deamage can only arise when several shortcomings coincide. Engineers and designers can, for instance, make mistakes when drawing up the blueprint for a bridge.

Specific factors, such as the strain that occurs due to concrete heating while it sets or strain in the vicinity of section joints, have not always been taken into account.

Mistakes of this kind could be avoided in future by adapting construction procedures to the construction technique.

Some of the shortcomings that have been discovered are without doubt attributable to mistakes in construction. Bridgebuilders blame an increasing shortage of skilled construction workers and pressure to meet performance and schedule deadlines.

The authorities have accordingly beefed up regulations. Last year's review of the industrial standard for prestressed concrete took the findings into account.

But many experts feel not only standards but also tender practice could be improved. Contractors should be required to submit estimates of a bridge's lifespan and the overall cost of construction and maintenance.

Critics of the current practice are also considering the possibility of consulting independent authorities before contracts are awarded. What is more, they are clamouring for the construction industry to come clean on the mistakes it has made in the past.

Research engineers and building contractors occasionally wonder whether the current practice does quality sufficient justice. Safety margins often cost more than the authorities are prepared to pay.

Critics also call for the development of new techniques to improve bridge maintenance and make less frequent checks necessary.

They include corrosion protection for steel to make the steel less susceptible to mistakes during construction, concrete that is better resistant to road salt and improved quality control procedures during construction work.

Further training for civil engineers likewise leaves much to be desired. They ought, in particular, to be taught greater personal responsibility and less reliance on standards.

A number of experts doubt whether local authorities in areas remote from the mainstream of autobahns and trunk roads ane competent to carry out the necessary inspection work on bridges.

The Transport Ministry is not yet able to say what maintenance and repairs have cost so far. Detailed figures are due for publication in autumn.

Bavaria, however, has completed its survey of the 2,000-odd prestressed concrete bridges down south. Repairs needed in 50 cases are expected to cost about DM3.5m over the next five years.

At the beginning of 1979 there were about 6,900 prestressed concrete bridges in the Federal Republic of Germany. Some 1,600 have so far been checked.

Assuming them to be representative of the total, about five to seven per cent of bridges are in need of repairs ranging from odd rifts to full-scale demolition.

Complete, 100-per-cent safety is, of course, out of the question. So the general public's worries about bridges remain only too understandable.

Ancient Roman bridges span rivers and valleys to this day. The Romans dealt with this problem in their own way. Their pontifex maximus, or supreme bridgebuilder, was little short of a god.

But woe betide him if one of his bridges collapsed. It was not only the will of the Gods; it cost him his head.

Brita Leckscheidt

(Die Zeit, 8 August 1980)

■ THE ARTS

A Wagner sequel when the Bayreuth festival is not quite enough

Some people in Bayreuth are so enthusiastic about Wagner that they are not satisfied with a festival performance lasting five and a half hours.

There is now hope for them. In the nearby town of Pegnitz a "delightful spectacle" is being held. All one needs is patience, openness and a little humour — plus DM 200. But more of this later.

Wolfgang Wagner played a major part in coining the phrase Bayreuth workshop, which means that opera performances should be regarded primarily as work in progress.

Operas are constantly being revised and improved — and there is also the element of curiosity about what additional insights next year's performance may bring.

Götz Friedrich's version of *Lohengrin* at this year's festival has proved to be a theatrically effective version but not absolutely overwhelming interpretatively.

In contrast with his version of *Tannhäuser* at the Bayreuth festival, there was no clear description of social tensions. And stage set designer Günther Uecker did not give him the same help here as in his brilliant Stuttgart version of *Parsifal*.

Nonetheless, the circular revolving set as a substitute for the swan gave fascinatingly changing shadow outlines.

The great surprise of the evening was newcomer Woldemar Nelsson as conductor. He was here conducting his first Wagner opera and did so with elan and unswerving flair, constant movement and impressive structuring.

Also impressive were: Elisabeth Connell and the ever-present Ortrud and Leif Roar as Telramund, driven by ambition and by his wife. Karan Armstrong made up for some technical errors of sound by the intensity of his performance, but Peter Hofmann as Lohengrin relied perhaps too heavily on his handsome appearance and magnificent armour.



Theatrically effective: Götz Friedrich's version of 'Lohengrin',
(Photo: Josef Oehrlein)

His only real achievement was the telling of the story of the Holy Grail — but that, after all, is what the opera is about.

Those for whom all this was not enough could then travel on to the Pegnitz happening, which took place in the Pegnitz Post Hotel.

It was organised by Peter P. Pachl, one-time directorial assitant to Neuenfels and now a free-lance director (he will be directing *Don Giovanni* in Kassel in February.

He was spurred on to the happening by August Everding who a year ago recounted that at the Milan Scala there were once ten intervals in which ten courses were served.

In Pegnitz there were six courses altogether, part of what was proclaimed to be a "total culinary work of art."

However the six courses (from Franconian mushrooms on flaky pastry, coriander soup, duck liver sausages, and pigeon-breast to meringues and fresh raspberries) did not completely distract attention from the artistic highlights of which there were twenty: from the greeting of the faithful to Siegfried Wagner's musical fairy tale of the thick, fat pancake.

Half-naked Rhine naiads [...] through the dew-fresh grass to [the] swimming pool.

Three torch-bearing waiters [...] around, an incestuous tale of Lohengrin is told, Brünnhilde sings *Hell dir* [...] in the solarium of the house — [it is] quite funny but very close to slapstick.

Richard Wagner can be discovered more effectively through his own [...]. An endless poem — a "Not" Gedicht — is recited from horseback and his [...] of green shoes from a ladder — sentiments are after all exalted.

A video tape shows an opera [...] explaining all the complicated relationships in the Ring, coming to the con-

Hannoversche Allgemeine

clusion that it is good that the *Twilight of the Gods* makes complicated decisions on inheritance matters superfluous.

There was an amusing comedy [in] classical style in which competent musical director Hans-Peter Mohr combined Wagner's text with Offenbach's music.

The excerpt from Nestroy's *Lohengrin* parody was also amusing, but the appearance of Pegnitz chef Hermann Pflaum as the Duke of Trabant with his dessert creation was even more impressive.

This was all effective as a recipe [but] could have been improved in the execution. The Pflaum brothers, who don't need to advertise because their restaurant is always booked out during the festival, hope that apart from improving their image this little *happening* will relax the strict ceremony of eating [and] impart a little more fun.

But the theatrical supplement should be spicier and more peppery. Perhaps director Pachl should have taken a leaf out of chef Pflaum's book. Pflaum's culinary creations were hot and spicy.

Rainer Wagner

(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 12 August 1980)

Calculations pay off as German scientist uncovers huge Roman sundial

A huge Roman sundial that has been sought for centuries has finally been uncovered.

It has been discovered by Professor Edmund Buchner, director of the German Archaeological Institute.

The Augustinian solarium is not just the biggest, but it is the most ingenious sun clock ever made.

It is in a hole eight feet deep. The Roman Emperor Augustus, as we know, was not always too favourably disposed towards the Germans and after three Roman legions were wiped out by the Germanii in the Teutoburger Wood he made his famous lament: "Varus, Varus, give me back my legions."

And now a German of all people is in the process of polishing up the fame of the Romans.

The discovery, says Buchner, was not luck, it was calculation.

But it was not a sudden inspired piece of calculation. Buchner has been working on his calculations for years. A publication on the gigantic device, of which the Peace Altar (Ara Pacis) and the mausoleum of the emperor are also part, had already been printed. All that was missing were the proofs.

In summer *1979* the important Via Campo Marzio was barred to traffic for two months and the road was dug up so that the archaeologists could pursue their researches into antiquity.

But, Buchner says, this was precisely a place where the plaster and bronze of the clock were stolen many centuries ago.

However, Buchner, from Straubing, in Bavaria, found what he was looking for in the cellar of No. 48 in the Via Campo Marzio. One goes down the dilapidated staircase which has not been used for years and sees a brightly lit hole and hears the continuous sound of an electrical pump: clear spring water gurgles over the smooth travertin plates onto which are carved a robust date line and in Greek letters the star-circle sign of the virgin.

Buchner: "The days are those between 23 August and 1 September, between 23 March and 1 April. This water was known in classical times. It comes from the gardens of Sallust on the Pincio Hill and still supplies a number of wells."

But there were surprises this time too. Each phase of Roman history has its own bronze letters and from the light, almost playful form of the dates which also contains such details as "end of the summer winds" the Professor concludes: "This is a new version of the sun clock of the Emperor Domitian (81–96). The original of Augustus is another half a metre deeper."

The solution to the riddle seems easy. Domitian ordered this new version because until the Tiber dams were built in the 1930s the field of Mars was always flooded, with the result that every year there were deposits of an average of one centimetre in thickness. The plaster and bronze lines of the months, days and hours were simply brought up higher.

In his researches into what he calls an equation with many unknowns Buchner had a classical counterpart — the brilliant mathematician Facundus Novus — as Pliny called this mathematician, who was also an astronomer.

The hand of the block — a 29.42 metre obelisk of Psammetich II (594–588 B.C. from Heliopolis in Egypt was excavated in 1748 from what is now the Piazza del Parlamento. As early as the 15th century bronze lines were found near the Church of San Lorenzo in Lucina. These were described by a classical commission led by the famous painter Raphael.

But it was Buchner who first discovered the purpose of the whole device and how the sun clock worked. According to him these buildings are a self-contained wonder of the world, like the Egyptian pyramids or the Parthenon in Athens.

Buchner: "The Romans were very religious and the whole magnificent structure contained so to speak the horoscope of the emperor.

"Legend had it that Augustus was begotten by Apollo in the shape of a snake — a legend to which he never objected — at the time of the winter solstice, so that with him a new year, a new age begins.

"He first saw the light of day at sunrise on 23 September, the day on which day and night are of equal length, the shadow line is dead straight and ends in the middle of the Altar of Peace.

"So Augustus is a cosmic embodiment, the symbol of an era of peace, an age of plenty and happiness."

The whole structure, twice as big as St Peter's Square today, was worked out right down to the last centimetre.

Veit Möller

(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, 11 August 1980)

■ ARTS EDUCATION

Culture 'always first to feel government axe'

Whenever the government needs to make cuts, foreign cultural policy is one of the first victims — despite all the protestations about the importance of this aspect of foreign policy.

The President, the Chancellor and the Minister of Foreign Affairs, as well as the *Land* prime ministers, who travel a great deal, never seem to let an opportunity pass of stressing the importance of the trinity of politics, economics and culture in our relations with other countries.

Since Ludwig Erhard's government statement of 1965 foreign cultural relations have officially been described as the "third pillar" of our foreign policy.

In Sunday and holiday speeches, politicians constantly pay lip service to foreign cultural relations.

But when it comes to the crunch and cuts have to be made in foreign cultural

DEUTSCHES ALLGEMEINES SONNTAGSBLATT

policy, these speakers are conspicuous by silence.

When additional EEC expenditure or special aid to Turkey put extra strain on the national budget, it was relatively easy to make up for some of this by slashing expenditure on culture.

Fixed public expenditure is taboo, as is expenditure on personnel. So when cuts have to be made, attention turns to those items without any fixed limits, where government and administration can spend according to their own judgement.

In practice, though, there can be no question of free spending in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs culture budget.

More than 40 per cent of the funds allocated for foreign cultural spending go to the over 300 German private schools abroad. These funds clearly cannot be cut in any given year, even though one can argue in some cases about how useful these schools are.

The school authorities rely on Bonn financial support and have taken on commitments accordingly.

Looking at other half of the foreign cultural budget, one finds narrow limits on possibilities of cutting. Organisations such as the Goethe Institute and the German Academic Exchange Service cannot have their funds for personnel or other fixed spending cut in the short term. And their programmes can hardly be reduced any further than they already have been.

So closer inspection reveals that there is no so very much scope for redistribution in the foreign cultural budget.

This is something the initiated have long known but which the politicians are constantly forgetting.

There is an explanation for this which Hans Arnold gives in his recent book *Auswärtige Politik — Ein Überblick aus deutscher Sicht* (Carl-Hanser Verlag).

"As political careers can hardly be built on foreign cultural policy, there is only sporadic interest in us in parliament."

Arnold, now ambassador in Rome and former director of the Culture department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs seems to have had an idea of the situation in the summer of 1980 when he completed his manuscript at the beginning of the year.

He writes: "Whenever public funds are tight, culture in general and cultural policy in particular are harder hit by cuts than other sectors of public spending."

Despite this pessimistic analysis from the experienced cultural politician Hans Arnold there is a small chink of light at the moment: the Bonn Minister of Finance seems, on the basis of his considerable foreign experience, determined to prevent all schematic and severe cuts.

It would be more than regrettable, it would be a serious political mistake if because of short term budget problems the Bonn government failed to realise at least some of the goals to which the Bonn government committed itself in 1977, with the agreement of the entire Bundestag, following the Commission of Enquiry on Foreign Cultural Relations.

This applies particularly to improvements in the media. The realistic and self-critical image of West Germany to be conveyed must be conveyed not only by the traditional means (and this includes exhibitions, books and concerts as well as films, radio and TV programmes).

All the experts also agree that we need more intensive contact in this way with West and East Europe and in North and South America.

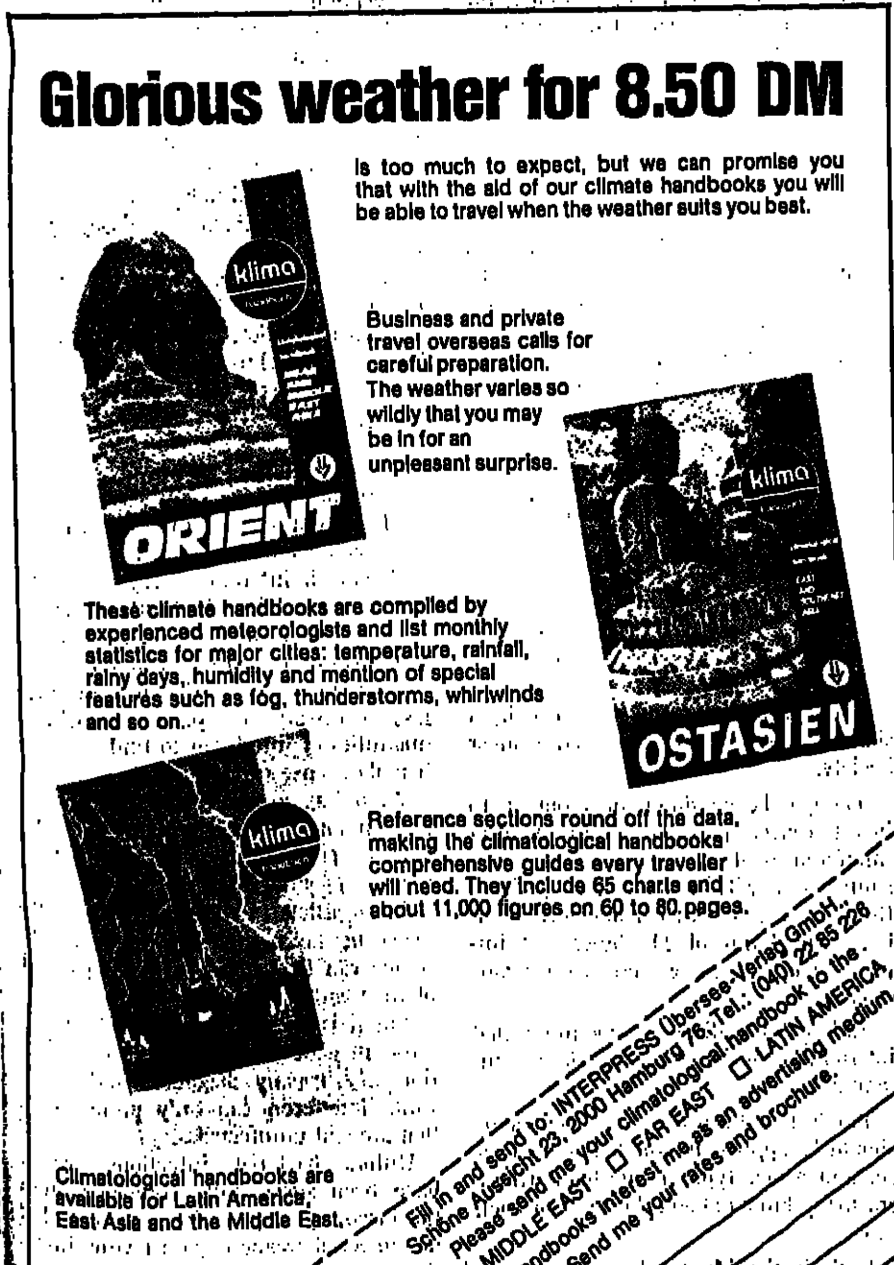
In 1979 the Bonn government promised the forthcoming publication of a "representative cultural magazine" for distribution abroad.

It will be interesting to see whether this relatively inexpensive project can at least be started this year despite the budgetary cuts.

The fate of this magazine will be of great interest to those who would like to take seriously the governments' statements on foreign cultural policy since 1965.

Karl Moersch

(Deutsches Allgemeines Sonntagsblatt, 10 August 1980)



A home found for Polish studies centre

The German Poland Institute has started its work in a house on the Mathildenhöhe, in Darmstadt.

The house was built by architect Joseph Maria Olbrich in 1901 — for himself. And a year ago, his heirs gave the house to the city on condition that it be used to further international cultural understanding. It was the ideal home for the new Poland Institute.

There is no shortage of institutions dealing with the most various aspects of East Europe out of political interest. Historians, linguists and literature scholars in the Slavonic studies departments of the universities produce outstanding work.

Scholars have for many years been studying aspects of East European history which are not at all related to contemporary politics: Gotthold Rhode in Mainz, for example, whose major work on the history of the Polish eastern border, published in 1955, is still considered an extraordinary achievement, or Wolfgang Kasack in Cologne, whose study of the Soviet Academy of Sciences in 1972 astonished even his Soviet colleagues.

But all this work, excellent though it undoubtedly is, has done little to lessen the general ignorance about the countries of East Europe.

What scholars write — in whatever discipline — is generally only read by other scholars and has no impact on the general public.

And the reader who wants to find out more about these countries has the problem of distinguishing between information and propaganda.

In brief, our knowledge of the intellectual and cultural life of our East European neighbours comes to us at best through a number of filters and our chances of getting to know what is really happening culturally in a country like Poland for instance are minimal.

Furthermore we know little about what the Poles know about cultural activities in this country, what interrelations exist, now these interrelations could be cultivated or improved.

These problems are what the Darmstadt Poland Institute is going to have to tackle. The director of the Institute is Karl Dedecius, who for a good quarter of a century has, as a translator, helped make modern Polish literature known in the German-speaking world and in the West generally.

As a writer and essayist, Dedecius has been concerned to explain the inner connections of this literature, to portray Polish authors (for instance in Polish profiles, 1975) and to analyse the interrelations between the two neighbouring peoples.

It is extremely fortunate that Dedecius could be persuaded to accept the post of director.

The Institute is a registered club, independent and non-profit-making. Any income is ploughed back into the Institute's work.

The President of the Institute is Marion Gräfin Dönhoff of *Die Zeit*. The chairman of the curatorium is Darmstadt's mayor Sabais.

Running costs are paid by the city of Darmstadt; the Rhineland Palatinate and Hesse share the costs for staff, the Bonn government and a number of major private foundations share the cost of the Institute's projects.

Among the most urgent tasks are a bibliography of German language literature on Poland (in conjunction with the *Deutsche Bibliothek*) and a kind of Who's Who, a list of the institutes, organisations and people in West Germany concerned with Poland.

The Institute has already held a colloquium with Polish translators on what has been translated in both countries and what gaps need to be filled.

It has now sent out invitations to 12 Polish publishers and publishers' readers to make an information tour of German publishing houses.

The Institute also aims to build up a German-language library of Polish classics, a multi-volume compendium of contemporary Polish literature and studies of Polish cultural history.

The main emphasis will be on literature and the study of literature — i.e. areas hardly touched by day-to-day politics but going to deepest roots of the cultural existence of the two neighbouring peoples.

Walter Selb

(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, 6 August 1980)

■ SCIENCE

'Biological computer' of the housefly a key to questions about man

Scientists are trying to find out exactly what makes the common housefly actually fly.

The experiments seek to establish the link between the nerve cells that process visual impressions and the muscles that carry out the flight instructions.

The fundamental question is: what are the principles by which the nerve cells *combine to become biological computers?*

It is a question which applies also to humans and ultimately answers to questions about the function of the human brain will be involved.

The scientists are at the Max Planck Institute for Biological Cybernetics in Tübingen.

Compared with the human brain and its 100 billion nerve cells, that of the fly seems rather primitive. It has a mere 1 million.

But this does not mean that it is easy to understand.

Professor Werner Reichardt, director of the Tübingen Institute: "The nerve cells of the fly's brain are linked with each other and interact accordingly.

"They form a closely meshed and complex network. To understand this grid system we must not only examine the individual cells but the whole system in all its complexity.

"It's the same as with a computer: you don't understand it if you look at its component parts alone."

Since the function of the brain rests on the cooperation of many cells, the analysis of it must take place on a higher plane.

To start with, it is necessary to establish the mathematical and logical rules by which the cells are connected with each other to form little cell groups.

The groups are again linked through special circuits, and it is this whole which enables this "computer" to perform certain calculations.

The signals transmitted by the nerves are processed along the lines of socalled algorhythms and converted into programmes for processing by the "computer."

On the highest plane, the question is: how are these algorhythmically arranged cell groups "wired" with each other? What is the circuitry?

Why did the Tübingen researchers pick the housefly for their experiments?

Professor Reichardt: "We are particularly interested in the 'data processing' within the visual system of the fly's brain. Like all insects, the fly has faceted compound eyes, each consisting of about 3,000 sections, the socalled ommatidia.

"Each of these ommatidia is a separate little eye equipped with sensor cells, so-called receptors, which convert light into nerve signals; in other words, electrical impulses that are conveyed by the nerve cells, the neurons."

From there the signals are transmitted to a further neuron level, and it is there that the complex calculating processes take place that lead to the actual visual perception.

The manner in which the insect flies and reacts to its visual environment depends on how the information has been processed in the neurons.

To gain insights into the circuitry of this computer, the Tübingen researchers provide the fly with a carefully defined visual environment which enables them to measure the insect's flight reactions.

The aim of this behavioural study is to fathom the interaction between sensation and flight reaction. This is to enable the researchers to understand how the nerve cells function.

This is much more difficult than it seems because perception is almost impossible to pin down. Many sensations that are transmitted are converted into abstracts and thus lose some of the original information that has been transmitted.

The apparatus needed is accordingly sophisticated. It can best be described as a flight simulator in the centre of which the fly is stationed. The whole thing is a cylinder, the inner wall of which can be decorated with various patterns, thus creating a visual environment.

The fly is kept stationary on its back,

Continued on page 14

Accent is on prevention

The future belongs to proph[ylactic] inoculations against bacterial [infec]tions and similar new therapy co[ncepts], says microbiologist Professor [...] Brunner of Düsseldorf University.

Writing in the medical journal [De]utsches Ärzteblatt, he points out [that] many bacterial diseases are on the [in]crease despite modern pharmaceu[ticals].

Notwithstanding antibiotics, [infectious] diseases in such highly developed [indus]trial countries as Germany and the United States still rank fifth as cause of death.

Bacteria thus play a major [role in] lethal illnesses.

Since there are clear limits to conventional treatment of infectious [dis]eases, the era of prophylactic [inocula]tions is now dawning, says Prof. Brunner.

While prophylactic inocu[lations] against virus diseases such as polio [have] become the order of the day, the [deve]lopment of inoculations against bac[terial] diseases has been neglected in fav[our of] pills.

As a result, polio and diphtheria [have] virtually been wiped out, while bac[terial] diseases against which we have no [in]oculations are either spreading or [hold]ing their own.

Professor Brunner stresses that [men]ingitis, while claiming few lives [since] the invention of antibiotics, has not [di]minished in frequency. There are [...] 1,200 cases a year, and the same [applies] to scarlet fever.

These figures show that inocu[lations] must not be neglected as a possib[le] prevention.

Moreover, many methods of sti[mulat]ing the body's own defences have bee[n] developed in the past few years.

These include serums which pro[vide] protection against a number of differ[ent] bacteria and substances made from bac[teria themselves which stimulate the bo]dy's defence mechanism without actu[ally] immunising.

Another promising field of research [is] immunogenetics. There are many indica[tions] that the defensive mechanisms [can] be influenced through genetics.

(Lübecker Nachrichten, 3 August 19[80])

Move to reduce experiments using animals

Are millions of animals pointlessly tortured and killed every year in the service of science and industry?

There are no reliable figures on animal experiments, and scientific publications that would separate the necessary from the unnecessary experiments are extremely rare.

To remedy this, Bonn Health Minister Antje Huber has instituted a DM30,000 annual research prize.

The prize will go to researchers who find new ways of replacing animal experiments by other methods and thus reducing the number of animals that are sacrificed on the altar of science.

There are as yet no logal provisions calling for statistics on animal experiments, though something of this nature is now being prepared in the European Council.

If current plans come to fruition, records will have to be kept on the type and number of animals used in experiments.

These records will also have to show whether the experiments were carried out without anaesthesia and whether the animals were exposed to considerable pain and suffering.

The pharmaceuticals industry is now voluntarily trying to establish the number of animals used in experiments.

Estimates range between 7 and 14m a year, rats being the main victims.

The 300 new pharmaceuticals that come on the market every year each require about 120,000 rats and 9,000 guinea pigs.

Dogs and similar animals are much better off because their cost calls for economising.

But research can hardly do without them because they are indispensable for certain medical experiments.

But it would be a great help if animal experiments were discontinued where they tell us little about the suitability of a drug for humans.

Many other experiments could be dropped if multiple tests carried out by different manufacturers for the same type of drug were discontinued. After all, it should be enough if one manufacturer carries out these tests on behalf of all the others.

It must be regarded as progress that Germany and Japan, two leading chemicals and pharmaceuticals manufacturers, now recognise each other's test results.

The new prize is intended to draw attention to the problem.

According to the Ministry, scientists by and large carry on with their animal experiments without considering the possibility of substituting them by other testing methods. *Gerd Rauhaus*

(Frankfurter Neue Presse, 7 August 1980)

Anti-tumour substance gets a boost

Interferon, considered to be the most promising substance in combating virus infections, will be produced on an industrial scale in two to three years, according to a Swiss biologist.

There were high hopes that the expensive interferon would lead to a breakthrough in the fight against cancer, but these have proved premature.

However, no one disputes that the substance checks the growth of tumours.

Now Zurich molecular biologist Charles Weissmann has revealed that this year he hopes to take the first steps towards mass production for this potential cancer cure.

He says in an article in *Umschau in Wissenschaft und Technik* (15/1980) that it will be produced on an industrial scale in two to three years.

Professor Weissmann recently succeeded in producing human interferon from bacteria with the help of genetic manipulation.

He intends to cultivate interferon bacteria in 3,000-litre tanks, hoping to stimulate them to produce the precious substance.

A Swedish study suggested that interferon could lead to a cancer breakthrough.

But this has not been confirmed by a similar study by the American Cancer Society.

Though the condition of 7 out of 16 breast cancer patients improved after interferon treatment, in the case of a similar test with bone cancer patients the success rate was considerably smaller: Only 3 out of 11 showed an improvement, but there were serious side effects.

Still, nobody disputes any more that interferon checks the growth of tumours.

But little is known as to what therapy should be applied to which type of cancer and which type of interferon (there are many kinds) should be used in each case.

Little is also known about the correct dosage because researchers need adequate quantities of the costly substa[nce] to carry out the necessary tests.

"Even optimists cannot assume th[at] we could overcome cancer if only [we] had enough interferon," say the Tüb[in]gen doctors Dietrich Niethammer [and] Jörn Treuner in the latest issue [of] *Umschau in Wissenschaft und Tech[nik]*.

They go on to say that it is neverthe[less] necessary to produce sufficient quantities of interferon to find out wh[en] it makes sense to use it.

According to virologist Professor [Hol]ger Kirchner of the German Cancer Re[]search Centre in Heidelberg, interferon is ideal for virus infections.

In an article in the same issue of [the] magazine he points out that the su[b]stance can be taken over a long per[iod] of time without fearing side effects.

But it is difficult to administer inter[]feron in good time because virus infec[]tions are usually diagnosed rather la[te] while interferon can only protect cel[ls] that are still uninfected.

Unlike bacterial infections, which have been successfully combated since the discovery of penicillin, medicine [has] no universal weapon against virus infec[]tions.

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 7 August 19[80])

■ BEHAVIOUR

'Monopoly-in-reverse' game goes on the restricted list

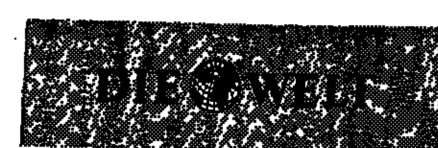
Any joke a censor understands deserves to be banned," satirist Kurt Tucholsky once said.

But the Bonn Authority for the Control of Literature Endangering Youth (BPS) is not a censorship office. Recently BPS (which is part of the Bonn Ministry for Youth and Family Affairs) for the first time put a game on the banned list.

Provopoly is modelled after the classical Monopoly game — deliberately so. Unlike capitalist Monopoly, Provopoly is an anti-capitalist civil war game.

The place in which brutal policemen, the "blues", fight it out with the terrorist bombers of the "reds" is called "Grünstadt."

While Monopoly players try to achieve a "monopoly" with tried and true capitalist methods, Provopoly players must try to arrest, kidnap, beat up, infiltrate and bomb.



The instructions read like an urban guerrilla textbook: "Blue wins if the bomb and its carrier are locked in the building and the bomb is exploded never the less."

Or: "I'm here outside the dean's private lavatory together with many other people. The dean's sitting inside — a 'numerus clausus in reverse'." (numerus clausus is a reference to the quota system for admission to German universities.)

It was the Bavarian Labour Ministry that filed the application for the banning of Provopoly, which has been marketed for the past four years.

The news magazine *Der Spiegel* recently asked "Has the satire of it all not been understood?" The question was directed at Elke Monssen-Engberding, 29, who signed the order that put Provopoly on the index.

But Frau Monssen-Engberding is unfazed, saying that the BPS realises that certain games, especially playing cards, have their satirical component which is intended to amuse. But this very amusement attracts children and juveniles and promotes their desire to play Provopoly.

The game may now no longer be sold in shops to which juveniles have access nor may it be shown in shop windows. Fines for violations are stiff.

The banning of Provopoly under the law governing the dissemination of publications endangering youth is only one of many such cases for BPS.

While in the early years of the Federal Republic of Germany this agency dealt primarily with nakedness, the emphasis since 1978 has been more on violence, glorification of the Nazi era and of war.

From its inception until 1978, the BPS banned only 18 books, magazines, records, etc. for their brutalising effects, glorification of crime or racial hatred. All other publications that were put on the index were pornography. But in 1978 and 1979, of the 455 banned publications 162 were banned for promoting violence.

This is not so much due to a new wave of violence but to the fact that the Authority is making better use of existing legislation. Moreover, now it is not only *Land* ministers and senators who may apply for a banning order but also all of the nation's 600 youth authorities.

Hella Steinberg

(Die Welt, 2 August 1980)

Star Wars at 11 o'clock every day

The young boy — he is not sure whether he is 15 or 16 — starts the Star War at 11 o'clock sharp every morning by pushing a button.

The enemy spaceships on the screen form into squadrons. Some break out for the attack. But our boy, his face flushed with excitement, downs them one after the other.

The whole thing takes place in an amusement hall with a shield clearly saying that youngsters under 18 are barred.

But the young spacecraft captain is not bothered by this. He comes daily to "let off steam", as he puts it.

While he shoots down spacecraft, a 14-year-old at another machine tries his hand at being a Super Road Champion. He is very clever at the game, which is not surprising considering that he plays it almost daily, spending DM60 a week, which he usually gets from grandma.

The amusement hall is rather empty at this time of the day. Apart from the two juveniles, there are a couple of older people playing the one-armed bandit.

The attendant sits at his desk, reading a tabloid newspaper.

Asked whether he was aware that there were children playing in his establishment, he says: "That's okay as long as they stay up front. I don't permit them to play in the back where the one-armed bandits are."

In another amusement hall, a 16-year-old plays the pinball machine. He spends about DM5 a day for his passion.

On the floor above, a 17-year-old apprentice tries his hand at being a Space Gunner.

He is on holiday at the moment and has plenty of time for his foible. As he puts it, he does not want to just hang around and the discotheque round the corner is too expensive.

The attendant says he cannot both be at the cash register and make sure that no unauthorised people sneak in.

The 14-year-old Super Road Champion leaves the amusement hall at 1 p.m. together with a friend because he has spent all his money.

Meanwhile, things have livened up in the amusement hall. It is now 1 p.m. and there are several 16 and 17-year-olds busying themselves at the one-armed bandits at the back.

The authorities say the whole thing has not yet become a serious enough problem to call for stricter controls. They stress that the staff of the amusement halls must check the age of their customers — "but of course no-one can tell whether they actually do."

Though juveniles are not the rule in such establishments, they are as dedicated players as their older brethren.

Rising turnover figures show that the business with the killer automats and one-armed bandits pays handsomely.

Statistics show that in 1966 there were ten amusement halls with an annual turnover of more than DM1m. In 1976, 41 had a turnover of DM6.6m; and in 1978, 35 made DM7.4m.

(Der Tagesspigel, 2 August 1980)

Housefly

Continued from page 12

revolving on an axle in the centre cylinder.

So the test fly can only turn its vertical axis.

The instrument also generates city that can be registered. If this visual environment is given a black stripe on an otherwise white wall of the cylinder, this stripe the eyes of the fly and it tries towards it.

This fixation reaction can be in two ways. The cylinder with the stripe can be rotated to enable searchers to measure the "guiding tions" of the fly.

On the other hand, it is also to make the fly control the move of the cylinder through a highly sophisticated electrical system. This a perfect simulation of free flight.

Based on a series of such experiments the Tübingen researchers have to track down the various nervous processing systems with the help of a fly gets its bearings in its visual environment.

One of these algorhythmical systems controls the perception of movement another one the perception of position while the third enables the fly to differentiate between moving objects in relation to the background.

It might seem odd that such seemingly self evident abilities should require this sophisticated apparatus and extensive experiments. It would seem justified to ask whether the expense this entails is warranted.

But the researchers are trying to uncover the basic principles by which nervous networks are linked with each other and so find an answer to the question how relatively simple basic elements such as nerve cells can be combined into such complex, high-performance structures as a fly's — and ultimately man's — brain.

Walter Frese

(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, 8 August 1980)

Why the house-proud housewife develops cleaning mania

Generations of husbands have suffered from the cleaning mania of their wives.

They often become victims at the most inopportune moments, for instance during a thrilling TV movie when the wife decides that the time has come to clean the carpet in front of the TV set.

Since the beginning of August, however, Germany's sorely tried husbands can scientifically diagnose whether their wives suffer from clinical clean-o-mania.

A study shows that the clinical case devotes at least 20 per cent of her housekeeping time to cleaning carpets, polishing floors, dusting and keeping fixtures gleaming.

These facts have been established by Kassel University students studying product design. Headed by Professor Helmut Krauch, the team delved into the everyday life of the housewife.

Supported by Professors Brigitte Wolf and Karlo Voss, the students spent 12 months researching housework. In the course of their work they discovered clean-o-mania.

The housewives involved in the study contributed their share by keeping exact records of their work. They also agreed to visits by the students.

The students were not satisfied with categorising the housewives according to whether they lived in cities or in suburbia or in the country. They also compared their results with those of an American study. It turned out that most of the findings coincided.

Since working women who have to look after the house after work were included in the study, the team arrived at an average daily housework time of five hours.

Pure housewives devote more than 40 hours, the normal working week, to their households. But they frequently overestimate the actual time they devote to housekeeping.

The time spent on such chores rises when a family moves from the city to the country.

The reason for this is that cultural interests diminish in the country because little of that nature is offered, and housewives are under pressure to show that they are keeping busy.

This is further promoted by the fact that neighbours in rural areas are more nosey and many housewives are afraid of being considered sloppy. the clean-o-mania.

The extent of the mania depends on the degree of education: the higher the education, the less time a woman devotes to housework.

But this does not mean that intelligent women are more untidy than the others. Many of them work more sensibly and thus save time.

Working women spend twice as much time doing housework over the weekend than do pure housewives. But all in all they devote considerably less time to such chores.

This is not surprising considering that working women spend up to 40 hours a week earning a living.

Another finding is rather interesting. It concerns the airing habits: the less integrated a community the longer the airing.

Siegfried Löffler

(Frankfurter Neue Presse, 5 August 1980)

■ SPORT

Jochen Mass battles on round the grand prix circuits

...ques Laffite of France in a Ligier won 1980 German formula one Grand ...x at Hockenheim. Carlos Reutemann Argentina, driving a Saudia Williams, second and Alan Jones of Australia, ...o in a Williams, third. Jones, who ...ds the world championship, was ...ding with six laps to go when he was with tyre trouble. Cologne's Jochen ...finished eighth for the Arrows team ...a poor start.

Asked what he thought of Cologne Formula 1 racing driver Jochen ..., Australia's Alan Jones politely ...ered: "He's a nice lad, easy-going friendly." He was equally polite in ...ning to comment on how he rated as a driver: "As a matter of prin... I never comment on the qualities ...my colleagues as drivers." And that that.

He would not, in any case, have found ...sy to analyse Germany's only cur... Formula 1 racing driver. The only ...e their paths really cross is when ...y lap each other on the track.

Jones could only say that he laps ...s frequently, fast and without much ...uble. Yet it would be unfair to imply ...at Mass, 33, is a poor driver.

He is an old hand in cars of all cate...ories, but in Formula 1 Mass, who is ...w based in the South of France, has ...ever really made his mark.

Experience alone does not make you ...eat in the grand prix circus, and he could well be said to have missed his greatest opportunity when he drove for McLaren from 1975 to 1977. With McLaren his team-mates were former world champions Emerson Fittipaldi of Brazil and James Hunt of Britain, and alongside them his shortcomings were clearly apparent.

Mass seems always to have had difficulty in adapting to the requirements of the track. This was later his trouble with ATS, as it is now with Arrows.

And the champagne will have to wait. Indeed, one can be hope he has overcome his poor form at Brand's Hatch, where he came a mere 24th in training.

He started as last man, and in such cases all he can do is play the waiting game for which he is proverbial, gradually and repeatedly working his way up to the front. This year he came sixth in the South African Grand Prix, seventh at Long Beach, fourth at Monaco and second in Spain. ATS decided to go in for Formula 1 in 1977 and progress has been slow but steady.



Jochen Mass . . . driving not just a matter of experience.
(Photo: Sven Simon)

"Initially it was touch and go whether we were going to qualify for a race," says team-owner Günter Schmid. "Nowadays experts agree that ours is one of the five best cars."

Five ATS cars were designed for the 1980 season, a sixth is taking shape on the drawing-board.

Driver Marc Surer of Switzerland was badly injured in South Africa but has fully recovered. "In my absence the ATS has become an outstanding car," he says.

But championship points have proved elusive, and Schmid and Surer were hoping put an improved ATS through its paces in England.

Michael Oberdieck

(Stuttgarter Nachrichten, 7 August 1980)

Cyclists agree race was too difficult

Poor organisation marred the finale of the Tour of Germany just as it had bedevilled much of the rest of Germany's premier road racing event for professional cyclists.

Much to the annoyance of more than 7,000 spectators at the Olympic Stadium in Munich, only two cyclists turned up for the victory ceremony. The others failed to emerge from under the showers.

The two winners who gave the fans their due were Gregor Braun, the easy overall winner of the Tour, and Werner Devos. But even Braun was far from happy, given his thumping victory:

"I am shattered. Not even the three-week Giro d'Italia was as tough as this year's Tour of Germany."

He was critical of the organisers: "It was sheer madness to hold such a tough tour so soon after the other exhausting tours in recent weeks.

"The organisers need not be surprised if they fail to persuade any leading pros to enter next year."

He was particularly critical of the distances. Each stage was more than 200 km (125) miles). The fourth, from Frankfurt to Baden-Baden, was nearly 300 km (200 miles).

Braun hedged on his victory, which was clear enough. He finished more than four minutes ahead of Sweden's Tommy Prim:

"It is wonderful to have won the premier race in Germany but there are others I would sooner have won and there are sucesses I rate more highly than this Tour of Germany."

He was probably thinking ahead to the world championships in Sallanches, France, on 31 August, where he hopes to be among the front runners.

Even Bernard Hinault, considering the Tour of Germany little more than a training session after his retirement from the Tour de France, reckons Braun is in there with a chance: "Saronni, de Vlaeminck, Willems, van der Velde and Gregor Braun are the men to watch for me."

As for himself, Hinault will be on home ground and he naturally feels he stands a fair chance of world championship honours.

Braun could well benefit in Sallanches from the rivalry between Giuseppe Saronni and Francesco Moser. Moser will be looking out for Saronni, so Braun might manage to slip through.

In professional cycling nationality is by no means the sole consideration. Team membership and the sponsor's name on the winning jersey are at least as important.

Moser and Braun seem to get on well and are staying together even now their team sponsor has pulled out of racing("because Moser failed to win the Giro d'Italia," according to ice cream manufacturer Sanson).

Next season they will be racing under the colours of a kitchen furniture manufacturer instead. "The contract has already been signed," says Braun. *sid*

(Bremer Nachrichten, 12 August 1980)



Gregor Braun . . . a tough ride. (Photo: Horstmüller)

DEFENCE

Rising costs of fighter-bomber project hit navy, air force budgets

The escalating cost of the Tornado jet fighter-bomber project will hit the German Luftwaffe and navy budgets ard.

The original basic estimate was DM15m per aircraft in this joint German-British-Italian project.

Now it is DM35.26m, and that is without other costs including weapons systems.

These increases have thrown military enditure out of normal ratio.

For example, the German navy is ally expected to spend roughly 63 cent of its budget on ships and the aining 37 per cent on aircraft.

Now the Tornado project has ensured this proportion will be almost exly reversed for the next two years.

The new multi-purpose fighter bomr was presented in Wahn recently by dreas von Bülow, secretary of state in Ministry of Defence.

It is a jet which fascinates the miliy and which is going to cost the taxyer dear.

The basic estimate was DM15m. Now is DM35.26m. To this must be added ut DM4.5bn in "development costs" the 322 jets the Bundeswehr has ored. (At the end of the sixties, when estimated costs were still comparaty low, the Bundeswehr wanted 1,000 s).

Then come the billions of DM for the various weapons systems to be installed in the jets.

The Bonn Ministry of Defence has several times stated that the Tornados will only carry conventional systems and in no circumstances nuclear weapons.

This means that, in all, the cost of a Tornado plus weapons systems today is DM67.36m. This is an astonishing development considering that the Ministry of Defence was quoting DM62m in May of this year.

The costs for the plane alone have increased by 135 per cent in the past 10 years and extra costs have risen at about the same rate.

One of the reasons for this is the differences between the economies of the three partners, West Germany, Italy and the United Kingdom.

Fluctuations in exchange rates have to be taken into account, as do rates of inflation.

And the costs of aircraft-building materials have risen by over 170 per cent in the past decade since the Tornado was first planned.

One major cost factor is the large amount of titanium used. The price of titanium has risen by 400 per cent in the past 10 years.

The Tornado has special qualities which make it ideally suited for deployment in central Europe.

Now that certain tricky technical difficulties have been overcome, the Tornado is able to land and take off on very short runways.

This means that operations would even be possible on partly-destroyed airstrips. The jet is very fast even when flying very low and can be steered manually or automatically. This means it is able to fly under enemy radar into enemy territory.

The jet's electronic weather forecaster makes it an all-weather aircraft and its target-aligner ensures optimum accuracy.

The Tornado has been tested for over 3,500 flying hours.

The verdict: "This weapons system can fulfil the role assigned to it."

From 1981 onwards pilots who have so far flown Starfighters will be retrained to fly the Tornado.

The Luftwaffe and the German Navy are due to receive the first three dozen Tornados in 1982.

Whether further improvements then lead to further price increases then remains to be seen. *Klaus J. Schwehn*

(Frankfurter Neue Presse, 9 August 1980)

Is the price worthwhile?

The people of this country were quite prepared to accept that the costs of the multi-purpose fighter jet Tornado would increase at the same level, or even faster than inflation.

This is particularly so because as the British and the Italians, with their less robust economies, were taking part in the project.

So for the past ten years we have learnt to judge the cost of this super-jet in terms of its essential importance for our defence and that of our Nato allies.

Originally the estimated price was DM15m per jet. Today it is DM67m and in two years, according to cautious estimates by experts, it will be between DM100m and DM150m.

Even the most passionate supporters of these all-weather tank-destroying jets and atomic bombers will concede that this price rise cannot be explained in terms of inflation alone.

The truth is that the Tornado is becoming a kind of prototype "wonder weapon" into which the countries concerned are packing all the good and expensive equipment and devices available.

Its electronic devices are by all accounts so advanced that the layman cannot help asking why the jet needs a pilot at all.

Some experts warned years ago that it was a mistake to neglect other forms of armament weapons systems and concentrate on one fighter jet.

But in those days politicians and military men believed that they could pay for everything: super jets, super tanks and super frigates.

Now they have got a very nasty shock they realise to their dismay that they can only pay for one "wonder weapon".

And they are not even sure that it is a wonder weapon. *Bernd Brügge*

(Lübecker Nachrichten, 9 August 1980)

Concern over illegal arms dealing

German-made machine guns recently turned up in Saudi Arabia, a German-made ammunition plant arrived in South Africa instead of the official destination, Paraguay.

And artillery bound for Spain found its way instead to Argentina. None of these arms supplies in any way changed the balance of power in the countries concerned. And in terms of world arms deals their importance is negligible.

Nonetheless, the fact that German arms have found their ways to these areas of tension is worrying enough.

This is not just because this runs counter to official German government policy but because it underlines once again how ineffective all the checks, controls and pious intentions are.

West Germany has some of the toughest restrictions in the world on the export of arms.

Certainly, arms exports account for only a tiny fraction of this country's total exports.

There is no basis in reality for the nightmarish idea that 35 years after the end of the war large parts of the world could be flooded with German arms.

But this is no reason to rest on our laurels and point to the severity of arms restrictions.

The allegations against the Rheinmetall company underline the crooked and roundabout ways by which arms end up where they should not be.

A number of arms produced in West Germany are in high international demand. And arms dealers are resourceful. The barriers against arms deals with countries outside Nato seem to be becoming less effective.

The next Bonn government will have to look at the question of arms exports again.

It will have to ask itself whether the 1971 guidelines banning arms exports to areas of tension go far enough.

And it will have to re-think the clause stipulating that arms exported to Nato countries have to stay in those countries.

The government will also have to respond to proposals made recently by the SPD and FDP parliamentary parties. These proposals envisage the Foreign Affairs Committee of the Bundestag being given more information about government decisions on arms exports.

They would also like to see the granting of licences to produce arms made subject to controls.

Finally an aspect of the problem which is continually getting acuter: arms produced jointly with other countries are not subject to West German restrictions and controls. Advanced systems such as the Alpha Jet and the Tornado come into this category.

This is a serious gap in export restrictions, and it is difficult to see how it can be closed.

The seriousness of this problem becomes plain when one reads the Bonn government guidelines on development policy and the relevant section of the North-South Commission report.

In both we find constant appeals to the big arms exporters to cut their exports and to Third World arms importers to turn their attention to internal economic development.

Any increase in German arms exports would be a slap in the face for all these efforts. *Heinz Murmann*

(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, 12 August 1980)

■ TRADE

Groundwork laid in Peking talks

Economic Affairs Minister Count Lambsdorff's recent talks in Peking are more than just a protocol visit although no immediate effects will be felt.

Count Lambsdorff headed a German business delegation to China. In his opening address he said that the October 1979 Sino-German trade agreement would thus gain practical importance and the slogans of intensified trade relations and promotion of joint ventures would become reality.

But no specific decisions or data to facilitate the planning of business should be expected from the talks. In fact, this was not the purpose of the mixed government commission.

But as head of the delegation, consisting of bankers and industrialists, the minister had an opportunity to reaffirm one of the main objectives of the German business community: safeguarding German investments against political risks.

The Chinese, who view trade with the West primarily as an instrument to promote the transfer of science and technology, passed a law last year that would permit genuine joint ventures.

But there are still no implementation provisions to safeguard foreign capital from dispossession. Moreover, the transfer of capital is still restricted.

Without an agreement that would protect their investment in China, German businessmen are still hesitant to put their money into joint ventures.

Yet joint ventures would be the right instrument in reconciling German and Chinese interests.

The Germans would gain access to the Chinese market and the Chinese could use these joint ventures as a vehicle for the transfer of technology and management while at the same time economising on foreign exchange reserves.

Present growth rates in Sino-German trade are enormous. The volume of trade has been increasing at the rate of 60 to 70 per cent every quarter.

But it must be taken into account that the original trade volume was rather modest to start with (DM3.8bn in 1979).

But this does not mean that there is not an enormous potential.



Economic Affairs Minister Count Lambsdorff with Chinese leader Hua Guofeng in Peking. (Photo: dpa)



Still, the initial euphoria has given way to realism.

The Chinese foreign trade authority and Germany's steel, chemicals and mechanical engineering industries are now working out exact figures in an effort to arrive at the true absorbtion potential of this huge country.

China is considered a good credit risk. The Hamburg HWWA Institute for the World Economy figures that the Western industrial nations would be prepared to grant China a line of credit amounting to 25 billion dollars.

But China is reluctant at the moment to go too deeply into debt. Last year, that country restricted its trade deficit to two billion dollars.

Imports of capital goods for modernisation are to be compensated for by increased exports and by substituting Chinese-made goods for imported ones whenever possible. But this again presupposes the importation of Western capital goods.

This is at the root of China's wish for joint ventures. As a result, the mixed German delegation hopes that some indication will be forthcoming soon that China is prepared to arrive at an agreement to protect foreign investments.

China does not yet seem to have a rigid modernisation plan. But certain priorities seem obvious and Western observers hold that the August meeting of the People's Congress (a sort of parlia-

Continued on page 7

Competition in the orient gets brisker

China experts have warned time and again against pinning excessive expectations on business with that country.

This has now been reaffirmed by Bonn Economic Affairs Minister Count Lambsdorff heading a trade delegation in Peking, who said that Sino-German trade relations should be viewed with "realistic confidence."

Competition for this huge cake is now in full swing between the major industrial nations.

The Germans will have to stand their ground against Japan, France and Britain. Americans, too, see their big chance in China.

They hope to triple exports to that country by 1985. They hold that China will step up its imports by some 20 per cent by that year.

This is encouraging for those companies that have been searching for new markets.

So far as dealing with Japan is concerned, the industrial nations have made many mistakes. For many, Japan has remained a mystery — and this is one mistake that should not be repeated when dealing with China.

This is a huge country that should not be seen only as a market but as a cooperation partner.

Jens Peter Eichmeier

(Stuttgarter Nachrichten, 11 August 1980)

China urged to make an investment pa[ct]

The Federal Republic of Ge[rmany] wants to step up trade and [...] cooperation with China, Bonn Eco[nomic] Affairs Minister Count Lambsdorff [said] at the beginning of his trade [nego]tions in Peking.

He stressed that Bonn would [...] the international subsidies race [...] financing of exports because this [...] distort free-market competition.

Even the German balance of [pay]ments deficit since 1979, he said [...] reason for Bonn to change this [...]

Count Lambsdorff praised [...] consistent monetary and financial [...] It is due to this policy that Bo[nn ...] provide unlimited export guarantee[s].

The minister called on China t[o con]clude an investment promotion [agree]ment with Bonn. This, he said, [would] greatly increase the willingness of German business community to [...] in that country.

Once the Sino-German Trade C[om]mission has concluded its talks, [...] tions on experts' level should be co[ntin]ued to bring about such an agreeme[nt].

In any event, Bonn would a[...] promote cooperation between Ch[inese] and German firms.

The minister placed particular em[pha]sis on cooperation in the raw mat[erials] sector and suggested that a Sino-Ge[rman] work group to that effect be forme[d].

German companies, he said, w[ere in]terested in capital goods deals, [...] paid for with Chinese raw materi[als]. financing, however, should be left [to] banks, and Bonn would provi[de] interest subsidies.

But the Bonn government would is[sue] guarantees for cooperation deals in t[he] raw materials sector that would not [be] tied to a credit contingent on Ger[man] exports if the money is used for a r[aw] materials project that helps to s[...] Germany's raw materials supply.

China is very interested in Ger[man] mining equipment. After a great deal [of] visiting back and forth, there is now [...] of Chinese orders to the tune of a[...] DM8bn.

German prospects are also good c[on]cerning equipment for steel mills [and] chemicals factories.

(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 12 August 1980)

Trade unionist offers 'solution for world market sales'

Are the Germans embarrassed now that they have been accused of being less industrious than our competitors on international markets?

Be this as it may, 68 per cent of Germany's labour force, recent polls show, would be prepared to work two extra hours a day for the same pay should this be necessary.

This seems to disprove those union officials who have been attacking Economic Affairs Minister Count Lambsdorff for his suggestion that the Germans do not work hard enough.

The true reason for our diminishing competitiveness on world markets is not our high standard of pay nor is it our short working hours, Gerd Muhr of the German Trade Unions Federation told a newspaper recently.

Herr Muhr blamed this state of affairs on the international monetary system and those behind it.

He said: "Since the abolition of the Bretton Woods System, international competitiveness has largely depended on exchange rates. Manipulation and speculation with currency rates cannot be compensated for by forgoing wages and time off.

"The trade unions are not responsible for exchange rates, But they can be blamed for relatively small wage demands in the past which, coupled with high inflation rates abroad, promoted the appreciation of the deutschemark — which Count Lambsdorff now deplores."

True, the trade unions do not make the exchange rates. But they are responsible for the wage policy which is one of the elements affecting prices.

Ultimately, below average inflation rates strengthen the position of a currency on international markets.

Supply and demand automatically make for the correct exchange rate provided no support mechanisms are used.

But even in the European Monetary System, which makes for monetary sta[bility], exchange rates have had to be ad[justed] because the internal values of the currencies involved drifted apart for [...] different inflation rates.

Granted, German goods and servi[ces] have become more expensive on interna[tional] markets due to the appreciation of the deutschemark.

Germany's wages now top the [...] But the conclusion drawn by Gerd Mu[hr] is tainted by typical trade union lo[gic ...] wages should have risen more steeply [...] make for more inflation and, hence, [a] weaker deutschemark.

Dietrich Zwi[...]

(Rheinischer Merkur/Christ und We[lt], 8 August 1980)

AGRICULTURE

Farmers leave the land in droves, and there's no end in sight yet

More than one-quarter of Germany's farmers have given up their farms [in] the past 10 years to retire or to seek [oth]er work.

A recently released agricultural [bal]ance sheet compiled by Bonn's Agri[cul]ture Ministry shows that the number [of] farms diminished by 340,000 (from [...]5,200) between 1969 and 1979.

This means that there are only half as [m]any farms now as there were before [...]'s end. More than 3.5m farm workers [ha]ve opted out since 1949.

Despite this bloodletting, the agricul[tur]al shrinking process is far from over. Having slowed down during the 1974 recession due to lack of other work, the exodus from the countryside picked up again last year.

Most endangered are the remaining 100,000 small farms with a net annual income of around DM9,000 per family member.

In the farmers'own social and economic interests, this structural change will have to continue, said Bonn Agriculture Minister Josef Ertl.

He also stressed that a minimum population density must be secured in rural areas to preserve the settlement structure of the nation. This task will be even more important in the 1980s than it has been in the past.

This shrinking process of German agriculture has been deliberately promoted through state subsidies.

After the introduction of special pensions for farmers who agreed to sell their land and state subsidies for those who are prepared to make social security payments in order to draw pensions, more than 50,000 farms covering 1.4m acres were sold. This meant that the remaining farms could be enlarged and operate more economically.

The social position of German farmers has clearly improved in the past ten years, the Agriculture Ministry says.

Net incomes per working family member increased from an average of DM12,312 to DM24,780 a year.

Agricultural pensions rose from DM175/115 (married/single) to DM432/288 a month during the same period.

But, said Herr Ertl, there is still room for improvement in agricultural social security.

Those farmers who have stuck to their land have a gratifyingly positive attitude towards their work, the minister said.

According to a recent study, most farmers would opt to become farmers again if given an alternative.

This is so because they feel that they are under less stress farming than they would be in other jobs and because the farm gives them an opportunity to prove and develop their abilities. *dpa*

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 13 August 1980)

[Wh]at the farmer earns as [pr]oportion of sale price

Eggs	77%
Milk and dairy products	59%
Meat	44%
Potatoes	44%
Fruit and Vegetables	34%
Bread etc	13%

Continued from page 6

[...]nt) will assign the following priori[ti]es: oil exploration, modernisation of [co]al mines, construction of new power [st]ations (especially of the water gener[at]ed variety), energy saving in the steel [in]dustry and improved transport capacit[i]es (especially by rail).

Ideology is unlikely to hamper busi[ne]ss. Though the Chinese still firmly [be]lieve in growth and affluence through [co]mmunism, they are pragmatic enough [to] buy their technology where it is at its [be]st, i.e. in the capitalist West.

Gone are the days of home-made [e]quipment for reasons of ideology. What [re]mains are financial self-restrictions [an]d practical difficulties.

For instance, there is no backup for [so]phisticated foreign plant and equip[m]ent. In addition, China is short of [s]killed labour and management.

Agriculture offers an enormous poten[ti]al as a market for foreign goods.

To raise the standard of living of the [m]asses, China needs huge quantitites of [f]ertiliser. In 1978 alone it spent 500 [m]illion dollars for this purpose.

As a result, the strategy of substitut[in]g local goods for the imported variety [ca]lls for the erection of huge fertiliser [fa]ctories. The necessary foreign ex[ch]ange is to be earned by stepped up [ex]ports of finished products.

This brings the mixed commission to [th]e crux of the matter: liberalisation of [ex]ports into the European Community [an]d the adjustment of Chinese goods to [th]e needs of Western markets.

Count Lambsdorff — and this has [me]anwhile become general routine with all mixed commissions — can point to Bonn's spearhead role in liberalising the European Community's trade.

Since the beginning of this year China has been counted among the developing countries with all the tariff preferences for exports to the EEC this entails.

There are parallels to other countries with a state-controlled economy. Though most tariff positions have been liberalised (more than 90 per cent) much of the goods offered by China (40 per cent) fall in the sensitive category for which the West considers import restrictions to be a must. *Hans D. Barbier*

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 7 August 1980)

Balance sheet outlines the decade

Agriculture Minister Josef Ertl has presented his ten-year agricultural balance sheet together with policy guidelines until 1990.

His report thus encompasses 20 years and might well have been presented with the forthcoming Bundestag election in mind.

Still, Herr Ertl has been in office since 1969 and is thus Bonn's longest serving farmers' and consumers' minister. As a result, his report is backed by plenty of experience.

Our farmers, too, have been faced with experience — of a bitter nature — notwithstanding billions worth of subsidies to support agricultural prices and despite massive overproduction.

There is no major branch of our economy that has been more enthusiastic about mechanisation and so consistent in approving of rationalising jobs away.

One in four farmers has taken another job since 1970.

Herr Ertl's balance sheet shows that our farmers do not only complain and demand more and more for themselves.

They know that it is impossible to secure jobs unless farming remains competitive. There are branches of business that tend to forget this.

Gerhard Hoepfner

(Lübecker Nachrichten, 8 August 1980)

Draining soil with blast of air

You can do almost anything with compressed air. Pneumatic devices can drill, grind, tighten screws, redirect fish, keep oil ports clean and shipping lanes free of ice.

Now, a Bad Kreuznach citizen is using compressed air in farming — and it looks as if his method will soon conquer the world.

The whole thing began with an annoying problem. When Eugen Zinck wanted to dig up his garden he found that the soil was full of water: the vibration of nearby construction machinery had so compressed the soil that rainwater could no longer seep away.

Herr Zinck — he holds more than 20 patents — had a brilliant idea: why not send compressed air into the soil?

He built a kind of airgun with a long pipe which he embedded in the ground. When he pulled the trigger, there was a loud plop, the surface of the soil lifted a couple of inches and a geyser of water shot out.

The air smelled of some noxious gas. But below the surface there was a clearly audible sound as if a plug had been pulled out of a drain. The water ran off and the garden was ready for planting.

Now, after another year of tinkering with his apparatus, Herr Zinck can clearly demonstrate what happens. To enable the soil to breathe after it has been cleared by pneumatic pressure, he now loads his airgun with small plastic pellets which he shoots into the soil.

When the soil is dug over enybody can see that the pellets have spread over an area of several square metres.

Eugen Zinck: "Any soil aerated in such a way needs only a superficial loosening of the surface as farmers used to do for thousands of years before deep ploughing became necessary."

Herr Zinck is an expert on agriculture, having spent 30 years in development work for the Max Planck Institute for Agriculture and then on his own farm.

Researchers have long suspected that deep ploughing and fertilisers are harmful. Agricultural yields are diminishing, and to counter this farmers plough ever deeper, use ever increasing quantities of chemicals and compress the land with excessively heavy machinery. In doing so, they destroy their own soil.

Herr Zinck's invention not only makes for a more ecology-conscious way of farming but also for much more economy because less money is needed for agricultural machinery, chemicals, fuel, electricity, etc. Moreover, the soil is regenerated.

The Research Institute for Viticulture in Geisenheim on the Rhine has certified that Herr Zinck's pneumatic process improves the health and fertility of the soil.

Another major advantage is that the food thus produced is much healthier.

The Rhineland-Palatinate Viticulture Ministry has also shown great interest in the project.

Eugen Zinck expects his device to be ready for mass production early next year.

There is much demand throughout the world — especially in dry countries such as Israel and Nigeria.

Ulrich Schmidt

(Die Zeit, 8 August 1980)